

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 4484

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, US
SUBJECT: HANDLING OF THE CYPRUS QUESTION PENDING FORMATION
OF NEW GOT

1. MFA CYPRUS-GREECE DIRECTOR GENERAL TULUMEN, IN A DISCUSSION
WITH EMBOFF JUNE 9, GAVE HIS VIEWS ON HOW THE U.S. MIGHT BEST
APPROACH THE CYPRUS PROBLEM DURING A POSSIBLY PROLONGED
PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY BEFORE A NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS
FORMED. TULUMEN ASKED THAT HIS VIEWS BE PROTECTED.

2. GENERAL: THE USG SHOULD KEEP IN MIND, TULUMEN SAID,
THAT DURING A PERIOD OF CARETAKER GOVERNMENT, THE MFA
"TECHNICIANS" DEALING WITH CYPRUS WILL BE AFRAID OF
BURNING THEIR HANDS IF THEY UNDERTAKE SIGNIFICANT
INITIATIVES WITHOUT POLITICAL BACKING. HOWEVER, THIS
PROBLEM DOES NOT MAKE ALL PROGRESS IMPOSSIBLE, BECAUSE
WHATEVER MOVEMENT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS,
SO FAR AS THE TURKISH POSITION IS CONCERNED, IS A CREDIT TO
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THE COURAGE OF MFA SEC GEN MFA SEC GEN ELEKDAG AND THE OFFICERS
UNDER HIM -- WITH LITTLE SUPPORT FROM THE POLITICIANS. ANOTHER
FACTOR IS THAT TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADER DENKTASH'S INFLUENCE ON
THE POLITICAL PARTIES WILL BE ENHANCED BECAUSE OF THE WEAKNESS
OF THE ANKARA GOVERNMENT. IF THE NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY (NSP)
BECOMES A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT, IT WILL PUT A BRAKE ON
FORWARD MOVEMENT ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER

ERBAKAN REMAINS AS ITS CHAIRMAN. IT SHOULD ALSO BE KEPT IN MIND THAT EVERY PARTY HAS CERTAIN MEMBERS WHO WOULD TEND TO ACT AS BRAKES, ALTHOUGH THE EFFECT WOULD NOT BE SO STRONG AS WITH THE NSP.

3. CYPRUS TALKS:

A. TULUMEN SAID THAT DENKTASH WOULD BE UNWILLING TO MAKE ANY TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS WITHOUT PRESSURE FROM ANKARA, AND THEREFORE IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE IN THE CYPRUS TALKS SO LONG AS ONLY A CARETAKER GOVERNMENT IS IN OFFICE IN ANKARA. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE POINTED OUT, THERE IS AMPLE ROOM FOR THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATORS TO DISCUSS CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES. FURTHERMORE, WORKING OUT AGREEMENT ON THESE ISSUES AND DRAFTING A NEW CONSTITUTION WILL TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME IN ANY EVENT, AND THE PRESENT PERIOD COULD VERY PROFITABLY BE UTILIZED FOR THIS PURPOSE. ALSO, PROGRESS ON SETTLEMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES COULD DO MUCH TO HELP EASE DENKTASH'S STAND ON THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION. TULUMEN THEREFORE RECOMMENDED THAT WE SEEK TO KEEP THE CYPRUS TALKS GOING ON THE BASIS THAT THEY WOULD FOCUS ON CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES, WITH FINAL AGREEMENTS DEFERRED UNTIL THEY COULD BE INCORPORATED IN A PACKAGE WITH TERRITORY.

B. THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATORS MIGHT ALSO BE ENCOURAGED TO DISCUSS PRACTICAL ISSUES RELATED TO THE TURKISH-CYPRIOTS' CURRENT COMPLAINTS ABOUT PASSPORTS AND FOREIGN CURRENCY CONTROLS. THE POSSIBLE RE-OPENING OF NICOSIA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT WOULD BE ANOTHER POTENTIAL TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION.

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4. WHAT THE U.S. CAN DO:

A. TULUMEN SAID THAT THE U.S. WOULD CONTINUE TO BE THE PRINCIPAL FORCE ABLE TO MOVE THE PARTIES TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, IT IS CRITICALLY NECESSARY THAT THE U.S. DECIDE SOON JUST WHAT EVIDENCE OF CYPRUS PROGRESS IT REALISTICALLY NEEDS AS A MINIMUM TO GET THE DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT (DCA) PASSED BY CONGRESS. FURTHER U.S. EFFORTS SHOULD BE AIMED TOWARD REACHING THAT MINIMUM.

B. TULUMEN RECOMMENDED THAT THE U.S. STRENGTHEN ITS INITIAL POSITION WITH WHATEVER NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS FORMED BY PREPARING NOW TO MAKE SOME GESTURE THAT WOULD BE TAKEN AS UNMISTAKABLE EVIDENCE OF U.S. INTEREST IN IMPROVING RELATIONS. THIS GESTURE COULD BE MADE EITHER JUST BEFORE OR JUST AFTER THE NEW GOVERNMENT TAKES OFFICE. HE HAD NO CONCRETE SUGGESTION AS TO THE FORM OF THE GESTURE OTHER THAN ALLUSIONS TO CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY AND THE ISSUE OF F-4'S.

C. A FURTHER VISIT TO THE AREA BY SECRETARY CLIFFORD SHOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL A NEW GOVERNMENT HAS A CHANCE TO GET ITS FEET ON THE GROUND, TULUMEN SAID. IT WOULD NOT BE ADVISABLE TO MAKE SUCH A VISIT THE FIRST OR EVEN THE SECOND ITEM OF BUSINESS OF A NEW GOVERNMENT.

5. GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS: TULUMEN BELIEVED THAT THE AEGEAN DISPUTE COULD BE KEPT QUIET DURING THE CARETAKER GOVERNMENT PERIOD. ONE REASON FOR THIS BELIEF, HE SAID, WAS THAT AT THE RECENT PARIS TALKS ON THE AEGEAN SEABED QUESTION, THE GREEK SIDE'S ATTITUDE HAD MADE HIM MORE HOPEFUL THAN EVER BEFORE THAT THERE COULD BE PROGRESS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT.
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